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Momentous Political Declaration by Colonel Koc

Colonel Adam Koc.

Raison d'être

In his speech on the 24th of May 1936, Marshal Edward Smigły-Rydz profoundly analysed the situation in Poland and demonstrated the mission of the Polish nation and the aims which it must reach. He showed a way by which we can with all certitude equal our neighbours.. "It is a question of organising human will". "How is it possible to organise a State" — said the Marshal — "how is it possible to think about reconstructing anything in the State, without this organised will under a single leadership?" "In the name of what ideals should we organise this will?"

"I consider that the ideal of National Defence is the only one that may determine our basic line of action. We must broaden this programme". "Every question may find its solution through this programme, through it we will find a way, which shall lead us out of our economic difficulties, which shall lead us to the liberation of the moral and creative forces of our Nation, to the concentration of these forces, and which should allow us to find new values, of which we have so great a need".

Such were the indications given by Marshal Smigły-Rydz.

Piłsudski, the Founder of the State

It is with fullest conscience of our patriotic duty that we speak today, and we have a sincere intention of serving our country as best we can. We turn towards all our fellow-citizens, who have the will to cooperate actively in the creation of the present and future power of our country. We address all those among our countrymen, who see the necessity of elevating the level of Polish life to a height corresponding to the rôle played by a great nation, and who understand that we must create an inheritance of patriotic traditions for the generations to come. We are sincerely assured of the integrity of our initiative and of the justness of the way we have chosen.

In the political life — past and present — of every nation, we may observe a basic moral line, which is continued during long historical periods, and which is the chief cause of its historic evolution. It is for this reason that the present political situation is tightly bound up with the future.

We do not intend to analyse in detail our historical past. It was full of greatness and of mistakes, history already has analysed it sufficiently and Marshal Piłsudski, who devoted all his life to repair our past mistakes and to renew and exalt our greatness, has left us only a few years ago.

What is the present situation in Poland? Our country was the creation of Joseph Piłsudski. He set the bases — political and moral — of our national life during the troubled period of the war and in the subsequent years of peace. He was the author of our national reconstruction, and in creating this independent State he gave our nation the possibility of free development and of fulfilling its historical missions.

Our morale has been deeply modified and raised thanks to the victories we won under the leadership of the first Marshal of Poland, and our citizens have a sincere will to serve their country. Marshal Piłsudski left us many precious indications about our national life and our duties, but at present many political currents may be seen in our midst, which are the proof of an insufficient comprehension of all the the aspects of our chief political questions.

Insufficiently coordinated political groupings

Those currents may degenerate into a boasting and worthless phraseology, and may produce insufficiently coordinated reactions, which in turn may diminish our national strength and power, instead of increasing them.

It is necessary for us to define our aims and the methods by which we intend reaching them. The sincerest goodwill, the most ardent labour may become useless if it is neither systematically directed towards definite aims nor adequately coordinated. Disorderly enthusiasm and initiative may even hamper the functioning of the complicated machine of the State. That is why we must group all our efforts, adapting them to a general plan, which should be intelligently conceived and suited to the present necessities.

The New Programme

Our chief ideas and doctrines are as follows:

National Life

1) Our national life is based on the Constitution of 1935. This Constitution created for our country a powerful and flexible system of government, the chief factor of which is the great political power at the disposal of the President of the Republic, who is in fact the head of our State. This constitution limits the arbitrary powers of the parliament, which were the chief source of political disorder all through our history.

The Army

2) Our army is another highly positive element of our political life. It was created and developed by Marshal Piłsudski, and we all know with what great attention and love he observed its growth and worked for its welfare, because in it he saw a great national school of discipline of patriotic spirit and of civic service. Marshal Piłsudski foresaw that in case of need and danger the nation would concentrate around the army and unite itself to it.

That is the reason for which he strove to obtain special powers for the chief of our army, that is why he chose his successor at the head of the army with the greatest care.

Today, our army is respected and loved by all the nation, because we all understand its great rôle. This is a proof of the great moral change which has taken place in us, for we must remember that during our historical past our armed forces were generally unpopular and neglected.

Marshal Smigły-Rydz called our attention lately to the necessity of uniting all our efforts in order to assure the national defence, and he appealed for the cooperation of all citizens of good will. All the nation must concentrate on this idea of national defence, and for it all vain and demoralizing discussions, all divergencies of doctrine, all exaggerated individualism and all political strife should be forgotten. This idea is certainly the most important and the most natural of all. We must remember that a powerful political life, rightly organised and directed, is a necessary condition of the power of the country. Now we must achieve an immense task in order to repair the economic and cultural destruction wrought by our oppressors, and to render possible a long and peaceful development for our country in the present troubled political times. This task may only be fulfilled thanks to the great common effort of our generation, led towards the ideal of our national defence and our country's power.

The State

3) We consider that the State is the only normal and healthy form, through which a nation may develop and grow. The State organises this secular growth and renders it possible. There is no contradiction between the interests of the nation and those of the State.

The Church

4) At the beginning of its historical life, our nation became Catholic and we often proved our attachment to this faith on the field of battle. The great majority of our people belongs to this creed, and it must be particularly protected by the State.

Our relations with other creeds are defined in our constitution, and they are based on the great traditions of religious tolerance of our national history.

Other political experiments

5) We live in a period of great economic and social changes. We are in the lucky situation that we can observe the tremendous experiments made by certain nations, experiments which are often made with an immense loss of lives or with a total destruction of culture and we can appreciate the results of these experiments without taking part in them ourselves.

We refuse to accept any economic and social doctrines, which are not adapted to our real conditions of life, and which serve the interests of a single group or a single social class instead of being useful to the whole nation.

Communism

The communistic doctrine is absolutely opposed to the spirit of our nation, its aims and its methods are foreign to us, this ideology cannot exist in Poland. If our country became communist, it would cease to be Poland, the country and the nation for which we have fought. We have given our blood for the freedom of this country and the unhampered development of its national culture, which culture must be the result of a purely Polish spirit and a purely Polish will.

Let every country choose for itself the form of government which corresponds best to its moral structure. We have rejected communism on the battle field in 1919 and 1920, and we intend resolving our social and economic questions according to our chief ideal and our principal aim, which is the power of our country.

We can reach this aim by perfecting the positive factors we own already, and by creating new ones, not by destroying the existing order of things with revolutionary methods. Poland must develop without violence and political commotion.

Internal Organisation

We have already affirmed that the power of a nation depends in the first place on the good organisation of its internal life and on the adequate leadership of this life. Not only powerful moral forces are indispensable but also material resources. We must have an intensive and well organized economic life. That is why all our sources of production, all our factories must work with the greatest possible efficiency and output.

A good organisation of production will enable us to offer good conditions of life and work to our manual and intellectual unemployed, whose possibilities are at present neglected.

We adhere to the system of personal property and individual initiative, but we consider that the State must have the right to regulate production. The State must particularly protect those branches of industry, which possess importance for the national defence.

Peasants and Workers

The great majority of our nation is composed of peasants and workers. The future of Poland depends chiefly on the situation of those masses, on their welfare, their prosperity, and the level of their culture and their civic value. That is a truth we must always have in mind when making plans for the future of Poland, and those who lead our State should always remember it.

Hate between social classes is foreign to our national spirit. Every man who works honestly and fulfills his duties toward his country is a valuable citizen. No kind of work can humiliate a man, only sluggishness and idleness. The State must exert its influence in order to create possibilities of work for the unemployed, in order to allow them to develop their full value as citizens.

Private initiative

The State should assist private initiative, and fix rules which would guarantee good conditions for private capitals. However, the action of all private initiative and of private capital must be limited as soon as it begins to endanger common interests, or when it may reduce national wealth.

The State must control relations between employers and employed, in order to preserve rational conditions of production in all enterprises and give the employed a sufficient degree of security and a gradual and constant amelioration of their standards of life. Employers and employed must learn to cooperate without enmity and to arrange their

(Continued on page 2)

Momentous Political Declaration by Colonel Koc

(Continued from page 1)

mutual relations by taking count of the possibilities and needs of the enterprises, on which depend not only the fate of both sides, but also the existence of the country as a whole.

The State must oppose all social exploitation; it is the sole factor which has the power to regulate relations between social classes. The State must also render impossible all external influences, which might try to play a rôle in the political or social life of the country.

Agricultural Classes

6) The question of the agricultural class is one of the most difficult in Poland. The potential of all the country depends in a great measure on the solution of this problem.

The present situation of our rural class has not been created by temporary causes, depending on the prices of agricultural produce. These prices only diminish or amplify the principal difficulties, without eliminating them definitely. The real causes are many and deep, and a radical improvement may be obtained only by the simultaneous adaptation of many coordinated measures. A single reform or an isolated measure cannot suffice.

We must completely modify the structure of the agricultural class, in order to obtain a gradual development of the farmers, which would allow them to occupy the place which is due to them in our national economy and in the life of the country. We must greatly ameliorate their conditions of life.

Farming relief measures

The following measures are necessary:

a) The size of the peasants farms should be enlarged, but without any reduction of the agricultural output.

b) The holdings of the farmers must be consolidated and ameliorated.

c) The level of agriculture must be improved and the methods of production perfected in order to raise profits.

d) The sale of produce and the buying of goods necessary to the farmers must be rationalised on the cooperative system.

e) Legal means should limit the subdivision of farmer's lots.

f) A profitable system of credit for the farmers must be created.

g) The level of education and civic culture among the peasants must be raised.

All these means are insufficient in order to eliminate the overpopulation of our peasant class. A certain number of rural workers must emigrate to our industrial and commercial centres, and it is necessary to intensify our economic life, to develop our industry and our commerce, in order to find place for many rural workers.

All these means, applied systematically and according to a general plan, may definitely ameliorate the situation of our rural class. This amelioration is indispensable in order to increase the moral and material power of our country.

Reduction of unemployment

7) In developing our towns, our industry, our commerce and our handicrafts, we will simultaneously reduce our unemployment.

The growth of our industry must allow us to reduce excessive foreign importation, and render possible intensive exportation, which in turn must increase our national wealth. The economic power of the country must also increase thanks to the development and rationalisation of our commerce.

We must prepare our towns and villages to accomplish their important national mission.

The growth of our class of townspeople is of a great importance, not only for our national economy, but also for the cultural development of the country.

Culture and Art

8) Our science, our culture and our arts are the direct result of our national genius. Our science must profit by the scientifical progress of all the world, and it should put it own progress at the disposal of all humanity, but in the first place it should work in order to furnish elements of power and riches to our own nation and our own people, while it must cooperate strictly in this direction with the State authorities.

Our arts and our litterature must be strictly national, that is, they must be based on the properties and the necessities of our national spirit. All great human achievements in this sphere bear a distinctly national character.

The State must protect and aid such sciences, arts and litterature, as are the interpretation of the spiritual and moral values of the nation and result from the latter.

National Minorities

We wish to live in friendly cooperation with our national minorities. We inhabit together this country, for which we have fought for ages, in which we have created centres of civilisation, and which we have many times defended against barbaric invasions.

History has decreed a common lot for us. Many foreign interests have tried to divide us. We have lived together in bondage for many years, now we live within the frontiers of our reconstructed Republic. We fully appreciate all the differences which exist between our minorities and ourselves, and we intend respecting these differences, as long as they do not endanger our State, and as long as they are not used to create obstacles, difficulties and hate between us.

Our position towards our Jewish population is the following: We can in no case approve of the acts of violence and the brutal antisemitic reactions, which degrade our national dignity and honour and lower the level of our cultural life. We want this level to be infinitely high. Calm, order and security must reign, without these conditions no country may exist rationally. But we understand the instinct of legitimate selfdefence of our culture, and the strivings of our people towards an economic independence are natural, the more so that we live in a period of economic and financial difficulties.

The State will succeed in crossing this troubled period without losses or enfeeblement only if all its citizens have a deep comprehension of their civic duties, a sincere will of sacrificing everything they own for their country, and a state of mind thanks to which they are willing to unite their fates with the fate of the country—without any restrictions and compromises whatsoever.

We have exposed our principal ideas about the present situation of our country, we have enumerated the chief principles which are going to guide us towards the aims which we intend to achieve.

Call to Citizens

Now we extend our hands to all fellow-citizens who share our views and who wish to cooperate with us for a common effort. We extend our hands over all the obstacles — real and imagined—. which were erected between us

Let the former political leaders, who consider that these obstacles are a guarantee of their own importance and their own ambitions, strive to deepen these obstacles and keep guard on them. We do not want to have anything in common with them and the sorry past which they represent.

Our intentions are honest, and we appeal to all the honest people who want to work for our country. We have been observing the political life of Poland for a long time. We have been awaiting the moment, when the majority of our fellow-citizens would understand that it is impossible for us to continue a life of complete political individualism, uniting only on rare and important days.

It is great time to unite all our efforts, the everyday work of all our lives, in order to concentrate all energies in the most appropriate way. We have no longer the right to be divided, because in many other countries all political individualism and all egoism has already disappeared and from many directions we hear the rhythmic tread of massive and disciplined hosts, which are being led by a single will toward a common aim.

ADAM KOC

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY

Mr Adam Koc was born in 1891 in Suwałki, in the north-eastern part of Poland. He early participated in the Polish independence movement, when still a secondary-school pupil, whilst his active share in a school-strike against the Russian authorities led to his expulsion from school. He was therefore forced to leave that part of Poland held by the Russians and to proceed to Cracow (then under Austrian domination) where the younger generations of the champions of Polish freedom were grouped at that time. After matriculating, he studied in the department of philosophy of the Jagellon University of Cracow, but at the same time entered the ranks of the secret Polish military organization founded by Pilsudski, and later graduated from the Officers' Training School of the Polish Sharpshooters' Union.

The outbreak of the World War surprised Mr Koc during a visit to his birthplace. He immediately left for Warsaw where he founded the secret Polish Military Organization which worked behind the Russian lines and remained in the closest contact with the Polish Legions which had entered the field against Russia under the command of Joseph Pilsudski. After ten months of arduous labour and figating behind the Russian lines, in May 1915 he proceeded through Finland to Denmark and from thence to South Poland where he fought under a *nom de guerre* in the 1st Brigade of Pilsudski's Legions. He was severely wounded in 1918. He was finally interned by the Germans and not released until the Spring of 1918. He was then ordered by Smigly-Rydz to assume supreme command of the Polish Military Organization in Warsaw. Under his guidance the organization succeeded in disarming the German forces of occupation in Central Poland, capturing enormous stocks of war munitions which proved of the greatest service to Poland. It was thanks to this military effort that when Pilsudski came to Warsaw after being released from German internment, he had at his disposal already trained patriotic soldiers, well supplied with the material of war.

At the beginning of 1919, Poland was attacked by the enormous masses of the Red Army, masses which expected to spread the fire of the Russian Communist Revolution to Central and Western Europe. Pilsudski organized a stubborn resistance to the Russo-Communist armies of invasion, culminating in the decisive defeat of the Red troops at the Battle of Warsaw in August 1920. He thereby not only saved Poland but also protected all Europe from disaster. During the period 1919-1920, Colonel Koc took an active part in military operations connected with the various divisions of work to which he had been detailed. He was one of the first ten soldiers to receive the coveted Virtuti Militari decoration. He was made commander of an infantry division and was successful in conducting a number of victorious, military operations. He graduated from the General Staff Academy and finally left the Army in the spring of 1928, when he was elected as a deputy to the Seym.

He was chosen chairman of the group of deputies representing south-eastern Polish constituencies and vice-chairman of the Seym grouping of the Non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government. He began to write for the Press in 1929 and shortly afterwards founded the „Gazeta Polska", which he still conducts as editor-in-chief.

He was appointed Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Finance in 1930 and occupied that post to February 7th., 1936. During this period he was primarily occupied with matters lying within the compétence of the Department of Monetary Circulation which includes all currency and credit matters and problems. Mr Koc has always been a firm supporter of a stabilized currency and his name is synonymous in Poland for a sound and stable Zloty. Mr. Koc has worked consistently for many years on the extension of Poland's financial relations abroad. It is his merit in a great measure that the Franco-Polish Company for the construction of the Silesia-Gdynia railway was successfully launched in 1931. Similarly, it was he who negotiated the English loan for the electrification of the Warsaw railway junction system, and the loan for modernizing the rolling stock of the Polish State Railways. He was chairman of the Polish delegation to the World Economic Conference of 1933 in London. In 1935, he visited Washington as a special representative of President Mościcki to President Roosevelt. He is a sincere and ardent friend of France and has worked long and consistently in order to develop Franco-Polish economic relations. During the period February 7th to May 8th 1936 he was President of the Bank of Poland. He was made the supreme head of the Union of Legionnaires on May 24th., 1936.

ECONOMICS AND FINANCE

BANK OF POLAND.

The report for 1936 presented to the General Meeting of the Bank of Poland shareholders mentions in its opening paragraphs the favourable changes in the economic condition of the country during last years in industry and farming, and proceeds to outline the considerable changes in the Bank's reserves during the period under review. An adverse balance of payments and the French currency crisis, combined with the tendency to hoard gold which was also being bought by other countries, caused a sudden and substantial loss of gold to the Bank, which in April amounted to as much as 46,1 million zlotys. The outflow of gold was checked by the introduction of foreign exchange control and later also by the suspension of transfers for the service of external indebtedness. Since July the gold movements have been reserved, and the influx of gold, though in small monthly quantities, is steadily continuing, the total of last year's loss of 51.4 million zlotys has been largely made good. The credit activities of the Bank as expressed by the discounted bills portfolio, collateral security advances and Treasury bills discounted closed with a lower total than in 1935; but it must be borne in mind that in 1935 changes in the Bank's statute were effected which enabled the Bank to replace the discounted farmers' bills by mortgage debentures of long-term credit institutions and obligations of the Acceptance Bank which is financing the conversion of farmers' debts. In consequence of these operations, the Bank's securities portfolio was increased by 83,1 million to 136,0 million, at the end of the year the bill portfolio of 681.3 million was 7.8 million less than a year ago, but the actual discount operations were 83.4 million higher. On the assets side the item of sundry accounts decreased from 126.9 million to 77.1 million zlotys. In consequence of the purchase and cancellation of the second issue of the Bank's stock, there was a drop on the liabilities side in the share capital by 50 millions and in the reserves by 25 million zlotys. Notes in circulation increased by 26.2 million to 1,033.8 million at the end of the year, whilst sight liabilities rose by 81.9 million to 291.6 million zlotys in consequence of banks and other clients leaving larger balance on their accounts and also of the new "blocked accounts" (Sperrkonti) which arose in connexion with the suspension of transfer and which have been booked as sight liabilities. The net profits amount to 9.3 million as against 12 millions in 1935, but for the greater part of the year the Share capital was reduced from 150 to 100 million zlotys. The profit and loss account was closed with 47.2 million (as against 43.4 million in 1935), overhead charges were reduced by 0.9 million to 25.4 million, losses on securities amounted to to 2.3 million, chiefly resulting the conversion of the internal national debt. Writings-off total 10.3 million (5.1 million in 1935). The shares of the first issue are to receive a dividend of 8 per cent, and those of the second, which up to April 26th 1936 were held by the Treasury, a proportionate part. The statutory participation of the Treasury in the Bank's net profits amounts to 16,800 zlotys.

A Polish Hero of the American Civil War

A Committee of prominent Americans and Poles has been formed in New York in order to honour the 50th anniversary of the death of General Włodzimerz Krzyzanowski, who died in New York, on January 31st, 1887.

Włodzimierz Krzyzanowski, who came to America in 1846, responded promptly to President Lincoln's proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers, and in the year 1861 formed and commanded a company of militia in Washington. He was subsequently appointed Captain and finally became the Commanding Officer of the 75th New York Volunteer Regiment.

In recognition of his bravery in the battle of Cross Keys, on June 8th, 1862, President Lincoln gave him the rank of Brigadier and, after the battle of Bull Run raised him to the rank of General. It appears from contemporary records, that the Senate failed to ratify the appointment because, as it seems, the senators were unable to pronounce his name. The appointment was not ratified until after the conclusion of the Civil War.

After the Alaska purchase in 1867, General Krzyzanowski was appointed the first United States Governor of the territory.

A meeting to honour the memory of General Krzyzanowski, as well as of other Poles, who took part in the Civil War, took place January 31st, at Washington Irving High School in New York.

(*P. I. S.*)

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Books Reviewed

Upper Silesia — Past and Present

The Drama of Upper Silesia — A Regional study by *William John Rose*, University of London, formerly of the Department of Sociology, Dartmouth College. — Stephen Daye Press Brattleboro, Vermont U. S. A.

This is the book to be studied by anybody who wants to see the intricacies of the Upper Silesian question laid before him, neatly and fairly disentangled without having himself to dig through that formidable avalanche of printed matter, mostly dry as dust history or specious and poisonous propaganda which since 1919 has buried all human elements of the problem. Of the 300 and odd pages of the book there is not a single one but reveals, by some words at least in the contest of social and economic reflections, historic details and (not too many) essentials of statistics, the devotion, nay the genuine love put by the author into a work he started during what must have been for him probably the most trying experience of his life. Mr. William John Rose, a British citizen, was trapped somewhere in the Silesian Carpathians by the outbreak of war, and he had to spend the war years as a civilian prisoner in the Austrian duchy of Teschen. "To his knowledge of German was added in time a working knowledge of of Polish. Relief and social work in Poland followed, prolonging his stay in Europe till 1927. This made fifteen years in all—of which six were among Germans and nine among Poles". In addition to this, as he says, "major justification" for attempting his task Mr. W. J. Rose spent since 1932 two more years in Poland preparing his book with the aid of his College, the Social Research Council and the Kosciuszko Foundation. All this makes up a maximum justification, indeed, for the author himself; for the reader, however, there is still one higher title of competence— the matchless performance of a book that for a long time to come is bound to remain the standard work on Upper Silesia.

The book opens with the passing of Silesia from Austrian under Prussian domination in 1742, after the first Silesian War the armed contest for Silesia's possession was twice repeated, finally in the world-wide conflict of the Seven Years War (1756 — 1763), but though many battles were fought on Silesian soil, Upper Silesia, and especially its south-eastern, Polish corner had little in common with such changes of war fortunes. Frederic the Great had not wanted it, since — as he wrote to his peace negotiator — he was convinced "that the inhabitants there would never be his loyal subjects"; he would much have preferred to get a bit of Moravia instead. Such disinclination to acquire Poles and Catholics as subjects did not, however, deter him from taking away from Poland the non less Polish province of Pomorze and from extending its frontiers to the south as much as he could and dared against the will of the other two partitioning powers. To the officials he sent into Silesia he gave the order "populate, mix up, and germanize" of which the original version is "*peuplieren, melieren und germanisieren*" — three words and none of them genuinely German from the pen of a king who has now highest rank as a national hero. He stuck to the slogan with regard to his later Polish acquisitions in a decidedly anti-Polish spirit instructing his officials to do away as far as possible with "*das garstige Polenzeug*" (the nasty Polish stuff). And with very short intermissions his successors applied the same methods to the Poles under their rule in spite of solemn assurances in royal proclamations to give them national institutions and the same obligations undertaken in an international treaty.

For centuries altogether, since its detachment from the rest of Poland, Upper Silesia's had been a case of arrested development, and the change from Austrian to Prussian rule did not mend matters. Frederic II, it is true, at once started expanding the existing industries in the interest, of course, of war munitions, still in his lifetime, 1780, the first steam engine was brought into Upper Silesia from England. All other attempts of the King's at improving local conditions signally failed. So it was in the relations of villains to estate owners because of the opposition of the latter; so again in the providing of schools, the king insisted on having only German teachers, and these were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers and with sufficient qualifications; so it was in church affairs. Several rebellions broke out in Frederic's time and had to be put down by force of arms. Nor did the Prussian reform era after Jena bring anything but new disaster to the children of the Upper Silesian soil. Even the land settlement turned heavily against them, with the result that before the World War in the whole country 52 per cent of the land, in the plainlands 57,5 per cent was in the hands of the magnates, and of the plainlands over one quarter was owned by seven individuals. Since the Prussian victory over France, in 1870, the colossus of Upper Silesian industries was growing up by leaps and bounds, but all the benefit was reaped by the immigrant Germans, and the Upper Silesians remained what they had been for centuries, "hewers of wood and drawers of water". Yet meanwhile three factors had come to the front, which battled against the success of the Prussian system, if any way there had been a chance of its success at all.

First of all there was an end to arrested educational development. The ice was broken by well-meaning Germans, mostly Catholic clergy and some at least germanized Poles, whose opinion it was that the three R's must first be given in Polish to the Upper Silesians before making them fit to appreciate and accept German culture of their own free will. Those pioneers of the Polish primer, the Polish prayer-book, the Polish popular weekly were soon, however, followed by men cast in quite a different mould. Here the second of the factors just alluded to came in — the growing influence of the other Polish provinces held by Prussia. Mr. W. J. Rose gives vent to his amazement how Prussian statesmen "can have hoped to keep their eastern "marches" sealed from one another, as if they were water-tight compartments; this, he says "remains for the student of history an enigma. Of course, the process was slow and took a couple of generations to find its way". And it may be added that it took more than that before it turned against loyalty to the Prussian State. The first lay leaders of the educational movement, men like Miarka or Lompa, who saw no reason why an Upper Silesian once he became literate should become a German also never thought of not rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. The cup began to overflow only when Bismarck brought into play the third factor and during the *Kulturkampf* period endeavoured to thrust the German priest upon the Polish Catholic, enforcing also religious school instruction in German, extending some of his anti-Polish legislation from Poznania and Pomerania to the Oderlands.

Meanwhile a long enough hidden snag began to show over the surface of the mighty river of Upper Silesian industrial development. The case is presented pithily by Mr. W. J. Rose; it is "simply that, if the Katowice-Berlin line be reckoned as ten units, the distance to Vienna is about six, that to Prague seven, while the line Katowice-Warsaw is five and a half". Geography had put in a decisive word when before the World War already Westphalia and the Rhinelands began to distance Upper Silesian industries all the more easily as Silesia having no opportunities for the development of finishing industries had to restrict itself to its "heavies". The cat was let out of the bag when after the recovery of Warsaw by the Poles, in November 1918, at Beseler's Headquarters a secret memorial of November 1915 was found by which the Silesian industrialists pleaded for the permanent annexation of all Poland. The main argument of this memorial was: "In view of the unfortunate position of the Upper Silesian industrial area, Poland remains for our development an extraordinary, one may even say an indispensable factor. Unless there is a chance for Upper Silesia to have that land as a field for distribution over a long period, our industry will be checked, and its usefulness as factor in rebuilding Germany may be reduced".

In part one of his study which is devoted to the Prussian rule, the author unfolds, step by step, the tale of woe of a conquered people and the colossal blunders in psychology of conquerors who take no account of the human element. The end of the nineteenth century saw a definite parting of the ways. Up till the *Kulturkampf* "the Upper Silesians were all they said they were — loyal Prussians convinced of the superiority of German civilization and innocent of all ideas of separatism. This, until they were told plainly by the very Germans who ruled them that they were not! They began to be viewed and treated as malcontents and rebels, and as a natural result, in time they became rebels.... During nearly two years of daily converse with all classes of Upper Silesians the author of this study was struck by the number of middle-aged men who told him they owed it to the Germans themselves that they were Poles. Especially did the rough-and-tumble ways of the army rouse the recruits to a national consciousness. Thousands of them heard from the sergeant or corporal that they were "Polish dogs", or, by way of variety, "swine".

Avoiding controversial statements as far as he can help, the author makes it perfectly clear that the plebiscite in Upper Silesia went, as far as it was possible under the then prevailing conditions, in favour of Poland. The division of the country which had been provided for by the Versailles Treaty itself, undoubtedly resulted in a freak frontier, but contrary to all expectations the Geneva Convention made it workable. We have no space left to condense, even in the slighest outline, Mr. W. J. Rose's narrative of how life on this frontier has adjusted itself to new conditions, and how all predictions of complete breakdown and utter ruin for the "industrial triangle" under Polish rule were falsified not only during the short period of prosperity down to 1929 or 1930 but also under the pressure of economic crisis. Part two of the book, nearly one half of the whole, is given up to the presentation of results of the Polish régime down to 1933. It is a convincing narrative which constitutes more than half of the book's permanent value. Mr. Rose expresses in an "Epilogue" his hopes that understanding between Poland and Germany arrived at in January 1934 will strengthen "the hands of men and women of goodwill, who have never been wholly lacking on the Polish-German front", and that then "two important neighbour peoples will enter on a new phase of their history, and another stone will be laid in the structure of European and world peace". This, of course, is a problem of psychology as applied to collective life of peoples and States. In the past, Upper Silesia had to bear the whole burden of failure resulting from the application of the wrong psychology. The present at last opens up the way for the proper psychology of which the "enlightened despotism" of a Frederic was just as ignorant as the Prussian rulers of Upper Silesia, Poznania and Pomerania down to the World War.

M. Gorynski

PRESS REVIEW

Danziger Neueste Nachrichten publishes an interview of its correspondent at Genewa with the new High Commissioner, Prof. Burkhardt, in which the latter declares "that in taking over his new and responsible position he is animated by the best possible will and that he will work to the best of his ability for appeasing differences?

I. K. C. writing of the initiation of a big investment scheme advises the building of a Polish shipping yard in Gdynia, which would be a basis for Polish naval power. The beginning, however, must be made by a broadly conceived naval programme. "It is not possible to create a shipping industry, prosperous shipping yards, and a naval force necessary for the country without a programme. On the other hand without this armed force not only are we exposed to danger, to international complications, to political difficultics, but also we cannot build up our industry, our sea commerce, cannot protect our emigration nor create prosperity in the country. Therefore there are no two opinions: a naval programme and a shipping yard are the watchwords of the present day".

Kurter Warszawski in an article entitled "the breaking point" observes that Poland is entering the field of investments in public works thanks to Minister Kwiatkowski, breaking with her inferiority complex and aiming at the raising of the country to the level of other States "Vice-Premier Kwiatkowski has proclaimed his conviction that Poland must march towards the heights, must raise herself and this coincides with the principles of the most vital defence of the State, as expressed by Marshal Śmigły-Rydz.

Gazeta Polska commenting on Col. Adam Koc' declaration of the 21st. Febr., says that history will not deny to the followers of Piłsudski the merit of unyielding and stubborn realization of those things for which they undertook responsibility. „And to-day also we undertake the realization of that idea, which according to our conscience is a command, resulting from the highest interests of our country; in our opinion it has attained sufficient and universal maturity allowing it to demand-as we are convinced-the step from thought and words-to deeds". Further the article states that the first initiative to action must be the opening of the road to all and a distinct exposition of aims "so that every Pole can conscientiously and consciously declare *yes* or *no*. And this is the purpose of Col. Koc' declaration".

Polska Zbrojna says concerning the same subject of the nation's consolidation that the times call on us to sacrifice individual fancies and egotism and to seek our happiness in the good of all "to find our highest joy in fruitful cooperation of collective work". And the conclusion is "We are beginning a new period, as it were a covenant, but full of potent feelings such as ever accompany acts of creation.

Paris Midi commenting Sunday's declaration says "All national powers in Poland are grouping round Marshal Śmigły-Rydz".

Le Jour heads its telegram from Warsaw "Marshal Śmigły-Rydz—leader of Poland. Changes in Poland's inner policy".

Kurier Warszawski asks how the programme sketched by Adam Koc is to be realized and how differences of opinion are to be reconciled. It says "In these questions lies the heart of the matter. Either the cooperation of the nation is not expected and in this case there is no need to appeal to it; or seeing justly in cooperation the condition for the strength of the state, it should be distinctly said what is thought about the formal political framework of this cooperation. This the only alternative".

Robotnik assumes a critical attitude towards the declaration of Col. Koc while agreeing with his "truisms" as the author calls them respecting the defence of the Republic and the question of social-economic and cultural construction, likewise with his denunciation of communism for Poland, but writes equally "do we refute fascism of which Col. Koc makes no mention". "There is one sensible way of issue from the dilemma — the way taken by France, England, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland and the U.S.A. Here Poland will find her own, independent and creative road". And in conclusion *Robotnik* suggests "let the country itself decide how it is to fix, construct and reconstruct its existence — by free, universal suffrage.

K. M.

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MUSIC

The opening of the III International Chopin Competition in Warsaw

On Sunday, at the Warsaw Filharmonia, was opened the III International Chopin Competition. The Competition is under the patronage of President Ignacy Mościcki, who also offered 5.000 złotys for the first prize in the competition. At the opening he was represented by the Minister of Religion and Education. The great auditorium of the Filharmonia was filled by the Polish musical world, many representatives of the government, diplomatic corps, political and cultural circles, and members of the press.

Vice-minister, Władysław Korsak, President of the Warsaw Musical Society, inaugurated the Competition in a speech greeting the young pianists coming to Poland not only because of their artistic ambitions, but also because of the immortal greatness of Chopin's work. The Director of the Chopin School, Adam Wieniawski, the President of the Jury spoke of the most important of the Competition's regulations, presenting afterwards the young pianists, among whem were representatives of Japan, England, Germany, U. S. A., U. S. S. R. and Poland.

The competitions, initiated in 1927 by Professor Jerzy Żurawlew, are still developing, as in the Ist Competition took part nearly 30 pianists representing 9 European states, the 2nd Competition of 1932 attracted 80 pianists of 18 nations, while this year's had more than 250 applications, among which 105 candidates from 22 nations will take part.

It must be added also that the Jury of the III International Competition includes: *Adam Wieniawski* (President) *Wilhelm Backhaus*, member of the Reichskultursenat, *E. de Dohnanyi*, director of the Hungarian Royal Academy in Budapest, *I. Phillipp*, professor of the National Conservatory in Paris, *E. de Sauer*, prof. of the State Academy in Vienna (all Vice-Presidents), *B. Woytowicz*, prof. of the Chopin-School in Warsaw (Secretary), *G. Agosti*, prof. of the Royal Conservatory in Milan, *A. Bliss*, member of the Musical Committee of the British Council etc.

After the official inauguration the first recital was given by the 16-year old Austrian pianist, Miss *Evi Wächter*, who was enthusiastically applauded; she executed her programme, according to her young age, quite well, deserving comparison with a perfectly prepared lesson, in which we cannot find faults, but also no individuality in interpretation.

Sunday afternoon brought Miss *Agi Jambor* (Hungary), Mr. *Oscar Kosches* (Austria) and Miss *Pina Pittini* (Italia). Among these Miss *Agi Jambor* presented herself as a first rate pianist, thanks to her excellent talent, as also by her fine understanding and interpretation of Chopin, united with unusual technique.

During the two following days of the competition Dr. *Rudolf Stejskal* (Austria), *Edith Axenfeld* (Germany), *György Pázmán* (Hungary), *Maija Korkeakovsky-Haupt* (Finland), *Frederick Portnoy*, *Helena Landau*, *Natalia Hornowska - Pęzińska*. *Maria Biliński - Rygierowa*, *Halina Kulmanowicz* (Poland), *Ginevra Artusi* (Italy) and *Chieko Hera* (Japan) were playing. Among these Miss *Axenfeld*, Mr. *Pázman* and Miss *Hornowska - Pęzińska* deserve mention, but above all the appearance of the Japanese Miss *Hara Chieko* aroused a special sensation as it was very rare indeed to hear Chopin in an Eastern interpretation. Miss *Chieko* was very fresh and original in her clever playing, showing at the same time high culture and technique.

Incidentally, *The Warsaw Weekly* wishing to acquaint its readers with the Competition will give the reports of the auditions, which take place at the Filharmonia daily at 14.30 until March 9.

The Final Concerts will take place on Thursday, March 11, at 19 p. m. and on Friday March 12 at 18 p. m., while the distribution of prizes also on Friday at 23.30.

J. M.

Ewa Bandrowska-Turska at the Opera

On Sunday Miss *Ewa Bandrowska-Turska*, the greatest Polish primadonna appeared for the first time this season at the *Teatr Wielki*, starring in one of her chief rôles, as *Violetta Valery* in Verdi's popular opera *La Traviata*. Miss *Bandrowska* returns to Warsaw only for a short time before her new artistic tournée and after great triumphs on the concert and operatic stages of Europe, everywhere causing admiration for her great art. We now meet Miss *Bandrowska* in the highest moment of her artistic development. Her voice, as well in the lyrics as coloratours, as in *forte* or *piano* has gained a uniform and exquisite style, the cleanliness of her singing can be an example for all, while her control and finesse made her appearance a satisfactory event for connoiseurs.

The partner of Miss *Bandrowska* — the tenor of the *Opera Comique* in Paris, Mr. *Wiktor Bregy*, a well-known Polish tenor abroad, gave much beauty and expression of dramatic possibilities to the part of *Alfred Germont*.

The performance of *La Traviata* is one of the best operatic presentations of the season, as the opera has received new settings and costumes (*Józef Wodyński*), new stage-directing (*August Wiśniewski*), a good cast in the remaining rôles (*Tokarzewska*, *Zwicz*, *Warma* and others) and appears under the baton of *Jerzy Sillich*, a conductor especially gifted in interpreting Italian operatic music.

J. M.

Robert Casadessus at the Philharmonic

Robert Casadessus, the French pianist, played *Weber's* Konzertstück and the minor Concerto of *Saint-Saens* at the last Symphony concert. This artist is certainly one of the best pianists of the present day. It would be difficult to find his rival iu poetry of expression, beauty of tone and elemental temperament. With all this he has too a quite special charm appealing directly to the audience. Even so little interesting a composition as the *Sains-Saens* concerto becomes palatable under the magic-fingers of *Casadessus*. The orchestra under *Franz Andre* played *Brahms'* Fourth Symphony and „The last roll of the drum" a piece of music composed on the occasion of Marshal Piłsudski's funeral by *Jan Maklakiewicz*, a realistic work acting depressingly on its hearers.

K. M.

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Culture and Art in Brief

Joseph Pilsudski's Institute for the investigation of recent Polish history in order to enable the general public to acquire the works of Marshal Pilsudski will publish a new and cheap edition at the price of Zl. 30, — for ten volumes, payable in instalments.

* * *

On the 19th of February there died in Warsaw at the age of 88, Dr. Henryk Nussbaum, honorary professor of the Warsaw University, a well-known neurologist and the author of many scientific books.

* * *

Mme Wyczolkowska, the widow of the famous painter Leon Wyczolkowski, who died a few weeks ago, has presented the pictures, sketches and art collections of her late husband to the town of Bydgoszcz.

* * *

On the 19th of February at the National Museum of Warsaw the Prime Minister, General Sławoj-Składkowski, opened an exhibition of French art, arranged by the Association Française d'Expansion et Echanges Artistiques. Amongst those present were M. Noel, the French Ambassador, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Szembek, and M. Francastel, Commissary of the Exhibition.

The Exhibtion consists of the most famous paintings for the last 70 years and comprises the works of Manet, Monet, Berthe Morisot, Renoir, Gauguin, Signac, Seurat, Cèzanne, Picasso, Modigliani, Derain, Utrillo, Vlaminck, Suzanne Vallodon.

Admission costs only Zl. 0.10, Sunday's free, in order to allow the largest masses of the public to visit this most interesting show.

British Gift to Polish Sport

M. E. de Virpsha of the Landsdowne House Fencing Club has presented to the Polish Fencing Association a challenge trophy, to be called the "Britannia Cup" and to form the prize in an annual international Sabre Team Competition for the Championship of Poland. The Cup will be presented to the winning team by the Military Attaché to the British Embassy in Warsaw and the first competition for it will take place this year on June 29th.

Warsaw Amusements.

THEATRES

NARODOWY, "Fiesco" by Schiller.

POLSKI. "Le Marriage de Figaro" by Beaumarchais.

NOWY. "Three - Six - Nine" by Duran.

MAŁY. "Lato w Nohant" ("Chopin and George Sand") by Iwaszkiewicz with Maria Przybyłko - Potocka and Ziembiński

LETNI. "Jutro Niedziela".

MALICKIEJ. "Hurly-Burly" ("Zamieszaj") by Herz.

ATENEUM. "Ludzie na krze" by W. Werner.

KAMERALNY. "Doctor's Secret" by Fodor.

MUSIC.

TEATR WIELKI OPERA.

Saturday: "The Legend of Joseph" "Schubertiana" ballets.

Sunday Matinée: "A Night in Venice".

Sunday evening: "Lucia di Lamermoor". The last appearance of Miss Bandrowska-Turska.

From Monday daily the ballet Joos appears.

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MUSICAL SHOWS

OPERETKA — Closed.

CYRULIK WARSZAWSKI — "Cabaretissimo".

TEATR 8.15. "The Dance of Happiness" (Stolz).

13 RZĘDÓW — Closed.

CIRCUS. Daily at 8. "Harry's English Circus".

ART AND OTHER EXHIBITIONS

I. P. S. "Annual Salon".

ZACHĘTA. Marine Paintings Show.

Y. M. C. A. Tourist Exhibition.

NATIONAL MUSEUM French Art Show.

CINEMAS

** APOLLO Mankiewiczówna in "Pani Minister tańczy" Polish.

**ATLANTIC Harry Baur in "Beethoven" French.

**BAŁTYK Elżbieta Barszczewska in "Płomienne serca". Polish.

**CAPITOL Żelichowska in "O czym marzą kobiety". Polish.

***CASINO Paula Wessely in "Ernte". Austrian.

**COLOSSEUM. Dorothy Lamour in "Queen of the Jungle". American.

** EUROPA Elżbieta Barszczewska in "Płomienne serca". Polish.

**FILHARMONIA Marta Eggert in "Blond Carmen". German.

**HOLLYWOOD Marta Eggert in "Her Mother's Song". German.

***IMPERIAL Loretta Young, Janet Gaynor, Simone Simon and Constance Bennett in "Women in Love". American.

***PAN Dietrich and Boyer in "The Garden of Allah". American.

** RIALTO Bodo in "Piętro wyżej". Polish.

***STYLOWY Eleanor Powell in "Queen of Dance". American.

***ŚWIATOWID Gary Cooper in „The Plainsman". American.

**STUDIO Jenny Jugo and Renata Muller in "Allotria". German.

What the asterisks mean —
****An outstanding feature. ***Very good.
** Good. *Average entertainment.

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101538	BRUM Chaim	59	D	24.5.37	Lomza, Długa 11
	„ Marjasza	59			
101539	PIERSIC Emilja	29	D	24.5.37	Wilno, Wielka 53
	„ Mirjam	1½			
101540	FINKIELSZTEJN Mosze	64	D	24.5.37	Warsaw, Nowolipki 24/1
101542	PORTNOJ Judes	54	D	24.5.37	Browarna 6, Pińsk
	„ Mewsza	16½			
	„ Nechama	14			
101545	LUX Matilda	54	D	24.5.37	Drohobycz, Bartlomieja 11
101546	SCHAUM Isak	60	D	24.5.37	Krasińskich 18, Lwow
	„ Chana	58			
101548	OHRENSTEIN Chana	24	D	25.5.37	Oberty. pow. Horodenka
101550	BASS Dawid	60	D	26.5.37	Lwow
	„ Chaja	49			
101554	RAJS Zysla	28	D	26.5.87	Janow Lubelsk
	„ Sura	1			
101558	KUGEL Sora	51	D	26.5.37	Wolkowysk, Chlodowska 7
101561	BERGER Fajga	56	D	26.5.37	Zamosz, ul. Nowa 20
101562	CHAZE Sara	7 m.	D	29.5.37	Zamenhofa 36/29, Warsaw
101570	BIEDRON Stanislawa	27	D	29.5.37	Powroznik, pocz. Muszynak
102451	BUSCH Moses	62	D	26.5.37	Przemysl, Ziernianskiego 1
102452	LANGSAM Israel	64	D	25.5.37	Siennow, b/Pszavoesk
	„ Faja	65			
102453	MESSING Sprinca	56	D	25.5.37	Tiuste
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102455	MANDEL Kisel	64	D	27.5.37	Warszawska 14, Kowel
	„ Leja	16			
102456	FRYDMAN Terca	21	D	26.5.37	Zelechow, Chopieckiego 18
102457	BURSZTEJN Szulim	16	D	26.5.37	Druzkopol. Pow. Horochow
102458	ROZENFELD Gedalja	10	D	26.5.37	Szeroka 36, Plock
	„ Sprinca	8			
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